1: Obermeyer E-5 (1964-1965) 1969 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
'Aishaibat

619 'Ali tribe. There is one lineage, the Sulwatiyya shown in
*[613] Figure 7a, which does not claim descent from Sa'ada and hence are no relations of the Awlad 'Ali Bedouin. Nor are any serious ideological claims for tribal membership provided by them or their Awlad 'Ali neighbors. The first social differentiation found in al-Qasr, then, is between those who belong to the Sa'adi tribes and those of the Marabit tribes. In terms of Bedouin social ideal types, the Sa'adi tribesmen are warriors, known for their courage and generosity; the Marabit tribesmen are weak and dependent on the protection
•[192] which the Sa'adi offers them. The Marabit tends to specialize
[171] in the role of "holy man." The dichotamy here is a reflection of the structural differentiation, common to North Africa, between sacred and secular tribes, or client and protector tribes.

619 The Sa'adi-Marabit division in al-Qasr is defined
193 geographically, in name, and in Bedouin tradition and myth.
539 Here is the way in which the Marabit "holy man" of al-Qasr conceives of the difference between the two types and its origin:

> They are brothers and there is no difference. The Sa'adi is always one step in front of the Marabit, he handles things for the Marabit and helps him. In political matters the Sa'adi is more advanced . . . When the Marabit is in trouble, the Sa'adi will defend him. They are two different groups because the Sa'adi are from one mother. Once Sa'ada was riding in a caravan through the desert.

593 not considered bad for a man to beat his wife." In the case
593 of ill-treatment by the husband, her father may take the
*613 matter to the corporate head. Traditionally, the corporate
• [792] head would order the husband to move his tent next to the
tend of the "holy man" or some other third party, so that
he would be dissuaded against such behavior. Another reason
[586] for this is so that the girl might have witnesses to support
her petition for divorce should the husband continue to beat
her. I heard of no wife-beating while I was in al-Qasr.

595 The Quran states that a man may lawfully take four
[779] wives, but that if he feels he cannot treat each of them
equally, he should take only one (Sura IV:3 and 129). The
Bedouins are conscientious in practicing this rule, though
595 perhaps not for religious reasons. If a man has more than
593 one wife, he must spend an equal amount of time with each.
Conflict between co-wives is lessened by the fact that a man
will have separate tents, or rooms in the case of a house,
for each wife. A man will not buy a dress or a piece of jewelry
for one wife without buying a copy of it for all other wives.
595 On a trip to the Siwa Oasis, I was accompanied by a man who
593 had three wives and wished to bring them a gift of basketry
114 upon his return. He was successful in buying two baskets
which were similar but could not find a comparable third in
[431] the oasis market. In dismay, he made a gift of the baskets
to me and returned with no souvenirs at all. One of my in-

585 room, until he arrives for the test of her virginity. The groom "takes blood with his finger," wipes it on the white toga which his bride had been veiled with, and hands it to the older women waiting outside the tent. In the meantime, [792] [675] the two fathers have met with the faqiih ("holy man") who witnesses the agreement on the mahr payment. They read the Fatiha of the Quran together and conclude the marriage contract. The old women, carrying the toga with the virginal blood on it--a symbol of honor to both of the groups concerned with the marriage--parade around the guests' tent showing it, while all the time letting out shrill victory cries (zaghaariid = "trilling cries of joy"). The toga is then pinned-up on the side of the guests' tent for all to see. Animals are slaughtered and the feast begins. 585 574 The central activity of the feast takes place in the guests' tent, the tent of the male guests. The groom's father, in [576] the traditional role of host, does not sit down to eat with his guests but directs the seating and feeding of them.

585 684 Should it happen that the girl is not a virgin, the wedding would end on the spot, and the girl would be sent away or killed by her father. My informants said that this has never happened in al-Qasr. One key informant told me that such a thing never happens because the groom would never permit it to be known that "his cousin was not a virgin." In other words, the groom will get the blood from somewhere,

Law and Political Order: 'Awaiyid Awlad 'Ali

671 [672] A "holy man" in al-Qasr, who has intimate knowledge of both the Quran and Bedouin law, has this to say on the subject of the 'awaiyid Awlad 'Ali:

671 171 The Sharii'a (Islamic Law) was given by God, and it guides man concerning what is good and what is bad: it is for all Muslims. The 'awaiyid was made by man for the Bedouins: it is for settling problems and evaluating damages. The 'awaiyid is natural, made by man and the Awlad 'Ali for settling the problems of the Bedouins. It is different from the Sharii'a. The Awlad 'Ali made the 'awaiyid, not the ashraaf ("holy men"); but the "holy men" approved it. The 'awaiyid agrees with the Sharii'a, but not in everything for it is not from the Sharii'a. Shari'it Muhammad ("the law of the Prophet") is one thing and the 'awaiyid is another. The Sharii'a says an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life: the 'awaiyid also says an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life, but in a different way: the 'awaiyid involves money. The 'awaiyid judges a situation; the dhabiiha ("blood sacrifice," usually a lamb as an expiatory fee) and the fine are paid and the problem is solved . . . The 'aqila is better than the government for settling problems in the desert. The government may put a man in prison, and if he dies there you will be responsible to his father and brothers. There is a more liberal judgment here in al-Qasr, and God prefers that we settle our problems through peace . . . If a man dies in prison, it is no sin before God but the Bedouins consider it a sin.

671 At the present time, the customary law of the Awlad 'Ali prevails in al-Qasr, and, I suspect, this body of legal and moral norms will be the basis for Bedouin social and political action for some time in the future. In any case, it furnishes us with a base-line from which any future studies of social

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578 said: "I did not take anything." The 'awaaqil of both parties
685 met and told the accused: "If you have anything give it to
*613 us; if you do not have anything then swear the oath to this
695 fact." Members of 'Ailit Ma'fas said that the boy was innocent
[591] and told the 'awaaqil that the boy should have his rights
[692] according to the 'awaiyid (i.e. he should be allowed to swear the oath to establish his innocence). The boy accused of the theft, his father, and two other members of 'Ailit Ma'fas selected by the accusers swore the oath and the problem was
619 over. Two months later, the accuser from the Kamailat lost
578 his eye in an accident, because swearing the oath has con-
685 sequences for both parties. A bad oath will work against the
695 one who makes it; there will be a curse upon him, his children,
784 and his money. And the bad effects of an oath will also work against the one who falsely accuses another making him swear the oath.

582 The final two cases deal with marriage rights. The
562 first illustrates a number of things which I have touched on
*613 in the previous discussion of marriage: that a man may choose
• 792 to ignore the jural structures of the lineage group where the desires of his offspring are concerned; that the female is not the totally subjugated person which one might expect to find in the strongly patrilineal Bedouin society; and that the role of "holy man" functions in the marital area of authority relations.

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The second, rather complex, case occurred while I was in the field. Once again, the role of the "holy man" is shown to operate in cases dealing with women. Shown here also is an interesting example of the cultural definition of abnormality.

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No Date. Case: Quarrel between 'Ailit al-Abaidi ('Ali Abyad) and 'Ailit al-Afrad ('Ali Abyad) over marriage rights. A man from al-Abaidi agreed that his daughter could marry a man but the rest of the 'aiela did not approve of this marriage. Since the man could not go to his 'aqila, who disapproved of the marriage, he took his problem to a "holy man." The "holy man" decided that the girl should marry the man she wanted to marry, but he was afraid that this would cause trouble in the 'aiela. The "holy man" decided to marry the man and woman, and then to divorce them for a period of one year so that the conflict would abate. The girl's father knew of this marriage but the other members of the 'aiela did not. After a period of one year, the groom went to the "holy man" and said: 'Decide anything that I can do, but I must have the girl." The "holy man" decided to make him pay a kubaara (expiation) fee of 100 L.E. to the girl's 'aiela, and he married them again.

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Date: 1965. Case: Quarrel within a tertiary segment of the Qinaishat tribe concerning marriage rights. A girl from the Qinaishat tribe had refused to marry her paternal cousin, but he was insistent upon his right to have her.

554 process of nazaala, the third party prevents feuds. In this
571 sense, the third party is a legitimate moral and political
627 influence, but not formalized to the degree as that of the
*[613] 'aqila. A discussion of the authority structure in al-Qasr, then, requires that the allocation of authoritative action in terms of the loci, or roles, of political influence be designated.

●[092] The central place of the third party role in the Bedouin political structure is manifested in the many laudable terms which refer to it: rajal khair ("good man") is the most general and often used referent; rajal saalih ("pious man") refers almost always to a "holy man," a specialized role in al-Qasr; guwaal al-khair ("the speaker of good"); and fa'aal al-khair or 'amaal al-khair ("the doer of good"). The latter three roles are approximately equivalent to that of rajal khair, though some informants argued that rajal khair is especially designated because he mediates quarrels while the fa'aal al-khair or 'amaal al-khair help a man when he is in financial difficulties.

554 The functioning of the third party in conflict media-
571 tion is formal to the degree that two parties agree on his
627 intervention and to abide by his decision; but the structuring
*613 of the third party is informal by comparison with the in-
182 stitutionalized role of 'aqila. However, the existence of the third party role, and its various expressions in al-Qasr

554 571 627 *613 [182] politics, and the fact that it is differentiated from the role of 'aqila, are the bases for conceptualizing a structural division of political duties and authority distribution.

554 591 Role differentiation in the authority structure may be discussed from two points of view: the degree of difference between authoritative decision-making roles and the other roles, and, the way in which one authoritative role differs from another. These refer to the different degrees of specialization characterized by any one role as compared to another. I have already discussed the way in which the role of 'aqila differs from other social roles (such as the kinship roles) in the authority structure of al-Qasr. In the following [128] discussion, I focus on role differentiation in the non-institutionalized aspect of the authority structure, on power and influence.

Societies differ from culture to culture in the complexity of role differentiation. Within any one culture it may differ from social domain to social domain. The political 554 571 627 *[613] system in al-Qasr is from this point of view structurally simple, the assignment of duties in the traditional authority structure being divided between the 'aqila and the third party. What legitimate influence is possessed by the third party is derivative from the "status honor" of its members. The • [792] exception to this is the rajal saalih who derives his power or influence as a result of his special relationship with God.

554 The rajal khair, then, is a broker in social relation-
571 ships, a manipulator of loyalties. As a member of the "status
627 group," he can afford to spend time and money in courting his fellow tribesmen, and, as a result, can accrue prestige and loyalty. This role, like that of the 'aqila, is a secular
[681] one. The sanctions which it controls are as economical as those of the 'aqila's are political. In this sense, they are differentiated from the role of rajal saalih whose sanctions are sacred in nature.

554 The traditional role which we define as that of the
•792 rajal saalih, "the holy man," was probably much more important
[178] in the past than it is today. In al-Qasr, there are only two rajal saalih who share in traditional power: the one is a resident of al-Qasr proper, and the other, a member of the prestigious Sanusi family, lives near Marsa Matruh.

The rajal saalih of al-Qasr, i.e. the local "holy man," is assured of status because he is an ashraf, one who claims descent from the family of the Prophet. He is also a
[561] member of the elder age-set, and while he is not rich, he cannot be considered poor. Though the "holy man" al-Sanusi
[793] lives near Matruh, he participates in the authority structure of al-Qasr and is a member of the "status group." He is sometimes referred to as rajal saalih kabir, "a great holy man," by virtue of his Sanusi heritage.

[771] The relative unimportance of this role as compared to that of the rajal khair in conflict regulation is a function

554 of the Bedouin attitude, or lack of it, toward religion.
792 Since the time of Muhammad, the Bedouins have been considered
774 notoriously bad Muslims. Today, the Bedouins tend to joke
about their lack of zeal, and often point out that "holy
619 men" are not to be trusted.[2] This is seen in Sa'adi behavior
771 toward the Marabtin tribes who are their vassals. Theoretically,
792 the Marabtin who trace descent to the Prophet and might be
554 considered "sacred Tribes" should be respected by the "secular"
[778] Sa'adi tribes. But the Sa'adi of al-Qasr tend to deride the
554 Marabit. For instance, the "holy man" of al-Qasr, 'Amm Salih,
792 is a Marabit and well-known for his ability to successfully
627 mediate in conflict situations. But one informant, pointing
619 out this gift which 'Amm Salih possesses, said: "Amm Salih
is a good man, he is not a Marabit." But 'Amm Salih identifies
himself as a "rajal saalih" and a "Marabit"; he sees no role
conflict here.

771 The Bedouins also joke about the manner in which they
[522] practice the "pillars of Islam." Especially, they make light
of the fact that they are irregular in mosque attendance.
They say, with a slight smile, "we pray in the desert." A
[124] common way for an interview to end was by an informant rising
and saying: "Now I must wash for prayers." This happened

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[184] [2]Professor Abou-Zeid also notes this trait in his study of the Bedouin near Sallum, on the Libyan border (1966:248).

771 at any time of the day! As one Bedouin put it: "According to the idea of goodness (salih), we are not good. This is because we do not pray, we are part-timers in prayer."

554 792 778 A good rajal saalih is considered by the Bedouin to have a special "blessing" (baraka), a concept somewhat equivalent to that of mana. Someone such as 'Amm Salih is thought to have baraka, and this type of power naturally increases his influence and enhances his status. The following [124] informant's account brings this out and shows something of the magico-religious element at work in Bedouin power relations.

[539] Hajj 'Ali does not believe in magic but he respects the "holy man" like anyone else. He owns a field from which are taken stones for building houses. One day he saw some men taking stones from this field. They were digging near a well so that the well would not be able to hold water after they had finished. Hajj 'Ali told the men to stop digging. One man answered: "I am cutting these stones for the Jaraira family (the family of 'Amm Salih), and only a few more and we will be finished." Hajj 'Ali replied: "For the Jaraira as for anyone else, we don't favor anyone, so stop the work now." Then Hajj 'Ali went home, never thinking that they would cause any trouble for him, and he was [787] afraid of no harm. He slept and he had a dream. In the dream he saw three of the Jaraira family, all of whom were dead and whom he had known in life. In the dream they only watched him and spoke no words. In the morning Hajj 'Ali went to the co-operative society's office and there he met 'Amm Salih. He said to him: "'Amm Salih, I want to tell you something." Then he related the whole story to him, and said: "I had no fear that you would do me any harm. But last night I saw your relatives in my dream; I had not even thought of them yesterday, so they are not [828] the cause of the dream. (The Bedouins believe that dreams reflect, and are connected with, what you saw or did during the day). So come and take all of the stones that you want, even if you are going to build a palace."

554 It is interesting to note that Hajj 'Ali is one of the most
571 powerful members of the "status group" in al-Qasr. He is
798 also a leading proponent of social change and a critic of
the old way of life which includes belief in magic. One can
• 792 see how 'Amm Salih's influence and status might work in other
areas of social action.

554 Although it is conceivable that a rajal salih can
792 be asked to intervene in any type of conflict, it is more
627 likely that he will preside at cases involving marriage and
695 divorce. The rajal saalih may also be asked to serve as a
691 witness or consultant in litigation cases. The Bedouins
* 613 point out that the "holy man," like the rajal khair, is apt
829 to be more trustworthy than the formal authority, the 'aqila.

> Sanusi is a good man and the people should listen to him. He is a rajal khair, a rajal saalih, not an 'aqila. He is better than an 'aqila--he is our brother. He is much better than the 'umda because he never changes the truth. The 'umda may go and accuse me wrongly to the government but Sanusi would never do this.

554 It is, of course, difficult to decide whether Sanusi's
792 charisma stems from the fact that he is a rajal salih, or the
facts of his wealth and family. Most probably it is a little
of both, the sacred as well as the secular. 'Amm Salih, on
the other hand, is neither wealthy nor from a particularly
prestigious family by economic standards of al-Qasr: he
derives his influence and status from the sacred aspects of

554 his role.
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The people of al-Qasr identify 'Amm Salih as the "holy man" in the area. In my interviews, when I asked for [124] [627] the name of a party, besides the 'aqila, who solves the Bedouins' problems, the answer was either Hajj 'Ali, the rajal khair, or "the Jaraira family." (This refers to 'Amm Salih and his brother.) When I asked for the name of a man who could tell me "how the Bedouin should act," the only name mentioned was that of 'Amm Salih.

554 792 627 'Amm Salih says that he solves many problems, not all of which deal with marriage and divorce. He claimed that he could settle conflicts over land and water. Just as a man may choose to go to the rajal khair, so also might he go to the rajal salih. Often enough, the selection of a "third party" will be determined by his propinquity. One 'aqila told me: "Salih Jaraira is a good man . . . If two men wish to accept Jaraira's decision, and if he lives near them, it is all right. If Jaraira cannot solve the problem, then they * [613] [571] will return to the 'aqila. The 'aqila can solve it or he can call in other 'awaqil who can solve it."

[114] When I asked 'Amm Salih for case studies of problems which he has handled, he said that he would not reveal them because they are private affairs. He was willing, however, to describe the method in which he solves a problem.

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Suppose the donkey of A (a man present at the interview) gets into the barley of B (another man present). This is actually a serious matter since it could conceivably lead to a big fight between A's 'aiela and B's 'aiela. First, I separate them and make each go to his home. Then I get A's three brothers (his father is dead), we take a dhabiiha (lamb) and go to B's place and all eat together. After the meal, we read the Fatiha (opening sura of the Quran) together to show that all is forgiven. After the Fatiha has been read no trouble will start because this is done in the presence of the Jaraira.

[784] He explained that reading the Fatiha in bad faith would bring the same curse from God that a bad oath would bring. He also
*[613] claimed that only he and the 'aqila have the authority to command men to read the Fatiha.

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'Amm Salih says that he uses the 'awaiyid as a guide in solving problems, and that it is necessary because "quarrels spread like fire, it is like fire; they spread to killing and war." He was the only person in al-Qasr who

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tried to conceptualize the difference between the 'awaiyid Awlad 'Ali and the Sharii'a. 'Amm Salih said that it is wrong to lie, according to both the secular and the sacred authority codes: "One who lies exceeds the word of God, and God will punish him for this. No one can know how this punishment will take place, only God will know this . . . Sometimes a car goes off the road and people will say that it is the punishment of God. But you never know because the punishment of God comes in the after-life." I asked him:

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"If this is so, why may the rajal khair lie in trying to settle quarrels?" He replied:

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> Lying is bad (haram), but this is "the lie of a peace-maker" (kadhib musaalih). For instance, if you have a quarrel with Yunis here, then I have words with both of you. I use different words with each of you. I use different words than those which you used in the quarrel--I use good words. This is to bring you two together again. Maybe I see that you are going to kill, or I hear bad words from you; I do not go and tell him what you said.

'Amm Salih said that it is his "duty" to mediate disputes, and that he never hesitates "because God will reward me later." He did not want the quarrels to grow into wars. He also bases his pleas for conciliation upon moral discoure, the method used by the other traditional authorities.[3] 'Amm Salih said that in trying to solve a problem, "I give priority to the elder. I go to the younger man and tell him that he should make peace with the elder because no one cares more for him than his antagonist, and that he really cares more for his antagonist than for any other." The rajal saalih mediates but does not arbitrate: he attempts to redress the balance of good relations but does not impose judgements.

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This approach to conflict regulation is not that of the 'aqila in his formal role, but it is similar to what the rajal khair would use. The main procedural difference between the two informal roles (i.e. rajal khair and rajal saalih) is that, in each case, the rajal saalih reads the Fatiha with

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[114] [3]The approach which I used in my interviews with 'Amm Salih derives from the work of John Ladd as presented in his book, The Structure of a Moral Code, 1957.

554 792 627 *613 779 the disputants. As noted, the rajal saalih shares this right with the 'aqila. The rajal khair does not have recourse to this mechanism which amounts to divine approval of the binding decision of the "third party." 'Amm Salih in his discussion of the Bedouin moral code corroborated this point: "Any 'aqila can read the Fatiha. In this way, he and the two parties involved terminate the quarrel. This is a way to show that all agree on the settlement. Originally, only the rajal saalih did this, but now the 'awaaqil do it in all cases." It would be interesting to know if in Cyrenaica both roles perform this function or if it belongs only to the role of rajal salih.

554 184 627 792 *613 I cannot generalize concerning this role for the whole of the Western Desert. Sayyid al-Sanusi and 'Amm Salih seem to be special men. On the other hand, the 'aqila and the rajal khair are roles which we would expect to find all over the desert, and in Libya also. The 'aqila is the focus of institutionalized traditional authority structure, and the rajal khair and "status group" represent the power structure.

554 121 This attempt to differentiate between authority and power is essentially one which deals with the more general problem of leadership. Any study of the structure of authority must have reference to the notion of leadership. Role analysis seems the best method of dealing with leaders and their functions. Role analysis together with the conceptualization of institution as a process is an adequate way of dealing with the tendency

554 toward legitimacy and the phenomenon of change in the
121 political structure. Peters (1967:271-279), in a long awaited discussion of the political aspect of Cyrenaican Bedouin society, adumbrates this problem of differentiating between instituted authority and the distribution of power:

> In order to discuss this adequately, a lengthy diversion into an analysis of the distribution of power would be necessary . . . there are men who wield power over groups of varying populations, and the extent of their domains cannot be understood by reference to orders in the lineage. Perhaps it is for this reason--because, that is to say, lineage theory effectively blocks the exercise--that relatively little has been written about the problem of leadership in these societies (i.e. lineage societies).

554 178 792 571 [795] Foci of power and authority change and at times irrespectively of the lineage structure. The role of the rajal saalih was more influential during the days of the Sanusiiya movement than it is today. At that time, "holy men" controlled economic, and thus political, relations through the zawiya system: they were in a position to command respect and obedience and could be considered a "status group" in their own right. Today, "holy men" are rarely found among the members of the "status group." As one informant phrased it: "They used to solve problems more in the past than now. People in the old days were not educated as they are today: the mind of the son is larger than that of the father. In the past, the "holy man" was so important that were he to ask

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554 178 [792] you for your cloak, you would have immediately given it to him. God was pleased with them at that time."

This notion of changing foci of authority and power cannot be divorced from the related political phenomena of the tendency toward legitimacy and the role institutionalization 128 process. In the next chapter, I will attempt to show how such a conceptual framework can be utilized in an analysis of culture and political change.

Modern Legal Roles

634 554 [648] [177] The roles of 'umda and shaikh were created and imposed upon the Bedouins by Muhammad 'Ali sometime during the early part of the nineteenth century in order to facilitate administration, maintain security in the desert, and protect the Western frontier.

[619] Both of these roles are representative offices at the primary level of the tribal structure. The 'Aishaibat have an 'umda and a shaikh who reside in Marsa Matruh and work in close relation with the Governor. In terms of a chain of command, these offices receive demands which may originate either with the Governor in Matruh or with Bedouins in al-Qasr. But these offices are subservient to both the Governor and the Bedouins since no decision-making powers of any consequence resides with them. With reference to the two authority [571] [635] structures, the Egyptian and the Bedouin, the 'umda and the

619 the negotiator has to have behind him the full weight of his tribal se-
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184 gment. Since the origin of the Gemei'at tribe as a Murabiteen tribe is
682 well known, any negotiator has to rely almost entirely upon his own skill
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628 to affect any settlement; even if he is able to affect such a settlement, there is no guarantee that it will be permanent.

619 The Murabiteen bil-baraka and Murabiteen bil-sadaqa occupy the same
792 position as vassal groups. The only difference between the two is that the first, the religious men, are much more respected than the latter. They are feared by the other tribes because of the belief that they have direct contact with the religious and spiritual world and can harm those who dare to offend them in one way or another. Because of this factor
[627] and of their neutral position with regard to the rest of the tribes, they
[628] play an important role in mediation and dispute settlement.

619 The origin of inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes in general is
184 hard to account for. Kenneth (1925) believes that hundreds of years ago
174 the Murabiteen were essentially the holymen. They learned to read and
792 write the Qoraan and grouped themselves around the "zawias' which were the centers of learning and religion. While indulging in their religious practices their flocks ere grazed miles away in the open desert under the charge of the Sa'adi shepherds, who originally were the poor paid workers of the Murabiteen. These shepherds, living out in the open, were busy fighting away the raiders attempting to steal their flocks. As time passed the Sa'adi shepherds became not only tough fighters but also wealthy. This latter end was achieved partly as a result of successful raids on neighboring tribes. Later when the Sa'adi planned a large raid, they entrusted their flocks to the Murabiteen, who by that time had become dependent upon the Sa'adi for their protection from the raids of other tribes.

619 The picture was reversed then with the poor Sa'adi shepherds becoming
184 the masters, acquiring great wealth and prestige because of their fight-
174 ing ability, and the holymen becoming the shepherds and clients of the
792 Sa'adi fighters. In the old inter-tribal wars, the Murabiteen stood a
[651] very limited chance so the Sa'adi tribes adopted them and in return for a yearly tribure guaranteed theprotection of the Murabiteen from external aggression.

As time passed, the main difference between the Sa'adi and Murabiteen tended to diminish. One or two outstanding Murabiteen tribes fought their own battles without seeking the protection of the Sa'adi and remained independent, while a few others rose up and fought on with the protector against a common foe (the case of the Gemei'at tribe is an example) and in return were emancipated from the stigma of serfdom and accepted by the Sa'adi as almost equals. Other Murabiteen tribes remained attached to their Sa'adi protector as client groups.

Ibn Khaldoun also saw the inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes as stemming from a mode of tribal relations adapted to inter-tribal warfare (1845).

613 The Eila

The Eila represents the next level of tribal segmentation among the Awlad Ali. The Eila is the most important political unit. Although the Eila lacks any formally recognized leadership, its importance stems from the fact that it constitutes the vengeance group or Amar El-Dam (unity of
613 the blood). This means that it bears a corporate responsibility for the
672 actions of its members. Anyone of its members can be killed in vengence
682 for a homocide committed by any other, and the duty of revenge for any

581 are necessary for the validation of the marriage contract. Modern
585 legal systems which took as their basis the Islamic law of marriage
671
675 and the family further required the registration of the marriage contract for the marriage to be legal.

584 The request and necessary response forming the marriage are sup-
585 posed to be carried on by the parties involved. However, if either the
429 groom or the bride is not of age, or is mentally unqualified, the trans-
593 action is carried on by his or her guardian, or "wakil." The wakil is the father, unless he is dead or an invalid, in which case the brothers
[604] become the wakils. If the person has no brothers, then the uncles be-
[184] come the wakil in the order stated. According to certain Sunni sects in Islam, a woman marrying for the first time is always represented by her wakil, even if she is of age. The assumption is that a woman who has never been married does not have the experience that enables her to enter into any kind of legally binding relationship such as marriage.

585 Following the original Islamic idea, marriage among Awlad Ali is
675 an oral agreement between the groom or his father and the guardian
593
429 (wakil) of the bride-to-be (her father, if alive, or her closest male
[604] kin in the following order: her brothers, her uncles, her grandfather).
585 A religious man is sometimes asked to perform the marriage, although it
792 is not required. Some persons might invite a member of the Murabiteen
[619] tribe or holy men to witness the marriage on the basis that his presence
[778] gives "baraka," or blessing, to the marriage. Before the application of
585 the State legal system to the area, marriage contracts were not regis-
656
197 tered. In recent years, however, and with the increased mobility of
675 the tribal populations, more and more marriages are being registered in
[634] the administrative districts. Still, according to the unofficial estimates,

spent the night inside. In the morning Muftah ordered his daughter to pack her clothes because she was to leave with him. He refused to give her husband any explanation as to why he was taking his daughter away. The husband could not prevent him from taking her away because, as he said, "He is her father and has the right to take her away with him at any time."

When the wife did not return for two weeks, her husband went to her father's house to take her, but her father refused to let her go. Hemeida then went to a religious man in the area and asked him to intervene in the matter and see why Muftah had taken away his wife. He also asked him to arrange a mi'ad with Muftah to discuss the matter.

The religious man was selected in this case because he was a close friend of Muftah and was believed to have influence over him. He was also known throughout the area to be fair and of sound opinion. It is important in the cases of disputes that the person selected as a mardi is known as a wise and fair man. It is only then that he is able to mediate between the two parties without being accused of taking sides. The religious men, members of the Murabiteen tribes in the area, by their relative position outside the formal tribal organization of the Sa'adi tribes, are the most likely candidates for such activity. Yet, this is not always the case. For this aspect of assumed impartiality is frequently balanced off by the fact that these religious men lack the support of a powerful tribal segment behind them. To be effective, the mardi has to be respected, not only for his personal qualities, but also for being a member of a respectable tribal segment whose power lends authority to the mardi's decision. This is not usually the case with the client tribes of Murabiteen. Wealth in many cases is also considered an important

Wealth in many cases is also considered an important requirement for the selection of the mardi. This does not mean that religious men in the area have no role in dispute settlement, for they do. It simply means that the mardi is selected according to a number of criteria that vary from case to case, and that in some of these cases sound wisdom and fairness characteristic of religious men are not enough basis for their selection as mardis. This means that the religious men have no special mediatory role based on their religious nature alone. In certain cases religious men offer the best possibility for mediation; in others, a non-religious person might offer a better chance for settling the dispute. In cases of women seeking divorce from their husbands, the wealth of the mediator, more than anything else, seems to determine the selection of the man whom the woman asks to negotiate on her behalf, a point to which I will return later in the chapter.

The Mi'ad was held in the house of Muftah. Present at the mi'ad were Muftah, his son-in-law, Hemeida, the heads of households in Muftah's camp (one of them was his brother and the other five were members of different tribal segments), my driver (who was a member of the neighboring Sanagrah tribal segment), myself, and the religious man. After the tea was served, the religious man said that the discussion should start. He reminded the gathering that this case is a family one and should not develop into a larger dispute. "After all, the daughter's husband is a son, and the case is actually a misunderstanding between a father and a son and should be viewed in that context." Then he turned to Muftah and said that in that spirit he was asking him why he had taken his daughter away from her husband. Muftah said that he had taken his daughter away

Muftah said that he had taken his daughter away
593 to punish Hemeida for what he thought was disrespectful behavior. He
574 then proceeded to describe how Hemeida, after bringing the blanket out
606 for Muftah, went inside and spent the night with his wife, defying the
586 basic rule of not showing intimacy in the presence of older people,
627 especially the parents or parents-in-law. For, to show such intimacy
792 is a sign of disrespect. He demanded that Hemeida pay him "kabara"
888 for his injured pride. The term kabara refers to the adjective "kebir"
[681] (lit. respected or big man). Kabara is the fine paid for belittling
[558] someone by word or deed. Muftah insisted that he would not allow his
daughter to return to her husband until Hemeida had paid that kabara.
Hemeida conceded the fact that intimacy constitutes an insult; but he
insisted that his action did not constitute an act of intimacy with his
wife, but was a matter of convenience and necessity, since he had only
593 two blankets, and the only one left was that inside the tent. Muftah
574 became angry and started shouting at Hemeida, who, in turn, started
606 shouting back; it became impossible to follow what was being said.
586 The religious man interfered in the discussion, trying to stop the argu-
627 ment between Muftah and Hemeida. The others attending the mi'ad also
792 [578] interfered. The religious man and two neighbors took Muftah outside
the tent while Muftah's brother tried to calm Hemeida down. The other
members of the group also calmed Hemeida, reminding him that he was the
younger person and must be more tolerant of older people. They also re-
minded Hemeida that Muftah was his father-in-law and had the right to take
his daughter away any time he chose. They urged him to "defeat the devil"
[681] and to apologize to his father-in-law and pay him kabara. He seemed
convinced but insisted that all he was going to pay was five pounds and
a goat. Muftahs brother and one of the neighbors then left the tent and

593 went to see Muftah and his company. Half an hour later the religious
594 man came and took Hemeida aside and talked to him in a very low voice,
606 then left the tent again. A few minutes more had passed; everyone re-
586 turned to the tent; Muftah was not angry anymore. The religious man
627 read the fatha, or the beginning sura of the Koraan, then said that the
792 souls were now pure and that Hemeida was considered as a son of Muftah
[779] and that disagreements such as this should not alter the good relations between the two. He said that the devil had found his way into the souls of the two people, but now, thanks to God and the good people present, they both had come back to their senses. Hemeida then rose and went to where his father-in-law was sitting and shook hands with him. Then he
[81] handed the religious man ten pounds which the latter passed to Muftah and promised to send him a goat as a gift to his daughter. Muftah left the tent and went to the tent of the women. When he came back he announced that a goat had been slaughtered and that everyone was invited to eat. Everybody then left and Muftah promised to return his daughter to her husband the following day.

593 While the right of the father to take his daughter away from her
606 husband constitutes a check on the authority of the latter and insures
557 the wife good treatment by her husband and her in-laws, not infrequently
586 that right has been invoked for personal or individual interest on the
[429] part of the woman's father or her closest male kin. Several cases have been cited in the area where the father or guardian had invoked the right to force the husband to concede to certain demands of the wife's guardian, even when the wife objected to those demands or disagreed with her guardian. One of these is the case of Mabroka who is married to a distant

his wife. The husband agreed but insisted that she pay him L.E. 300 (this included the mahr and the marriage expenses). The Omda tried to reduce the amount but could not. He then tried to get the father to pay, but the father refused. He had to pay the husband L.E. 200 of his own money and promised that the rest would be paid when the woman remarried (it would be paid from the mahr). The husband divorced Haida. One week later she was married to her lover. I have no information about whether or not the 100 pounds was paid.

In another example, Sabha was forced by her father to marry her cousin (ibn 'amm). She could not live with him, so she threw herself on one of the holy men in the area. The holy man convinced the husband to divorce Sabha and then went to her father and convinced him to pay back the mahr to the husband, and the case was settled. People say that both the husband and the father agreed to the demands of the holy man because they were afraid of his supernatural curse. Sabha went back to her father's house.

It is obvious from these and similar cases that the success or failure of the procedure depends on the careful selection of the man on whom a woman throws herself. It is also apparent from the above examples that his right of refuge is resorted to only in cases where the woman cannot go to her father or to her closest kin to help her get a divorce because he is either unable or unwilling to help her. A father is unable to help if the husband is powerful or if he is the woman's ibn 'amm (father's brother's son) who has, according to the tribal law, the undisputed right to marry his bint 'amm (father's brother's daughter). The father is usually unwilling to help his daughter if he is the one

682 settlement is usually made after the parties have agreed to it,
629 yet, in certain instances where one of the parties later feels that
692 the settlement was not just or that he was coerced into accepting
695 it, he may ask for a second Mi'ad during which new procedures start
in the case. In the present case, although Mahdi had originally
accepted the judgment of the awaqil, as time passed and he real-
ized that he was unable to pay the bloodmoney, he started to ques-
682 tion the feasibility of the settlement. He discussed the matter
692 with Sheikh Suliman el-Gerery from the Murabiteen tribe of Gerera,
695 a tribe whose members are feared throughout the area for the belief
554 that they have certain supernatural powers. Sheikh Suliman himself
792 is highly respected, and people believe that after his death he will
[776] become "wali" or a saint. After hearing Mahdi's complaint, Sheikh
Suliman told him that the settlement was unjust and told him that he
would do something about it. The following Thursday, Sheikh Suliman
called on Mahdi and asked him to bring his donkey and follow him.
They rode to a small desert town called Bahig where the local market
613 is held every Thursday. On market day, the awaqil of various tribal
517 segments usually gather in front of the general store in the town
571 drinking tea and chatting until their sons or the younger members
443 of their families sell the sheep and buy the necessary items. Every-
576 one passing by the gathering is expected to greet the gathering, get-
ting off his donkey as a sign of respect to the prominent people.
[689] Failure to greet a fellow tribesman is considered a serious offense
liable to a fine of more than L. 50 and ten goats in certain cases.
[673] It is considered a very serious crime. One informant once told me,
000

124 576 829 One informant once told me, "If you don't greet me, this means that you hate me, and if you hate me, there is no limit to the kind of harm you can do me and my family. One who hates you can kill you, and none can walk safely anywhere if he fears that he will be killed."

682 689 672 695 554 792 576 As Sheikh Suliman and Mahdi reached the general store, everyone was gathering there as usual, including the two awaqil who were involved in the original settlement. Sheikh Suliman told Mahdi not to dismount his donkey and not to say the customary greeting as they passed by the gathering. When they passed the gathering, everyone stood to greet Sheikh Suliman who ignored them and left with Mahdi. No one believed that Sheikh Suliman, who should be the guard of the tribal tradition, should commit such an unforgivable violation of the norms of the people. The next morning the whole area was talking about a big Mi'ad to "take the right" from Sheikh Suliman and Mahdi, who had insulted the gathering. The Mi'ad was held a week after the incident. During the Mi'ad, Sheikh Suliman was asked to explain his behavior, and his answer was, "How do you want me to greet all those people who were sitting in front of the store? There were more than thirty men in that gathering, and I was afraid that if I said the customary greeting, I might have startled some of them causing them to harm themselves, leaving me with the payment of so many bloodmoneys." Immediately, the attendants of the Mi'ad knew what Sheikh Suliman was referring to, and that his action was to prove that the settlement reached in the case of Mahdi was wrong and that it set a very dangerous precedent which would cause people to avoid greeting one another, "and hatred will prevail among brothers and nobody will be safe in his own home."

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The desire to establish in North Africa conditions in which Muslims might live by their own laws and under their own government, as they did in Arabia under the first four Caliphs, led the Grand Sanusi and his successors to oppose the Turkish way of life and the influences and innovations of Western Christendom, but their intransigence in these matters did not imply intolerance, far less aggressiveness. Though some writers have made assertions to the contrary, the Sanusi have never shown themselves more hostile than other Muslims to Christians and Jews, and the Grand Sanusi and Sayyid al-Mahdi scrupulously avoided all political entanglements which might bring them into unfriendly relations with neighbouring States and the European Powers. The Brothers of the Order were discouraged from discussing political questions. Nor were the Sanusi intolerant towards fellow Muslims who differed from them. Shaikh Muhammed 'Uthman records of Sayyid al-Mahdi that 'the persons he dislikes the most are those who speak ill of Muslims'.[1] The leaders of the Sanusiya have always tolerated other and rival Orders, even when they have disapproved of their rites. The Grand Sanusi had himself been a member of a succession of Orders before he started his own and he allowed, as his successors have done, members of other Orders to belong to the Sanusiya at the same time.

The leaders of the Order have also been tolerant towards the cult of saints, unlike the iconoclastic Wahhabi, who have destroyed even the tombs of those nearest to the Prophet himself. The view held by the doctors of orthodox Islam is that, though intercession through a saint is unlawful and the only mention of him during prayers at his tomb should be to ask the mercy of God on his soul, it is permissible to show respect to his tomb and his memory. The heads of the Sanusiya have, however, always tolerated among their Bedouin followers a regard for holy men and their tombs which goes beyond mere respect. It is unlikely that they felt any repugnance to the cult, because they counted among their forbears several saints and were themselves brought up in North Africa where the cult of saints is widespread and very near to the hearts of the common people; and they could not have remonstrated with the Bedouin for believing that holy men and their tombs are sources of *baraka*,

[1] Op. cit., p. 121.

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divine blessing, since it was because the Bedouin believed the Sanusi family had the same virtue that they accepted their leadership.

The resemblance often alleged between the Sanusi and the Wahhabi movements, on the grounds of like puritanism, literalism, and fanaticism, cannot be substantiated. It is obvious that there must be resemblances between new religious movements: they usually claim to be a return to primitive faith and morals and they are generally missionary and enthusiastic. There is no great significance in such common characteristics of the two movements. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the Grand Sanusi was directly influenced by Wahhabi propaganda. A more significant comparison between the two might be made by tracing their developments from religious into political movements. Both started as religious revivals among backward peoples, chiefly Bedouin, the Wahhabi movement in the Nadj in the eighteenth century and the Sanusi movement first in the Hijaz and then in Cyrenaica in the middle of the nineteenth century; the *Ikhwan* organizations of the two movements have much in common; and both ended in the formation of Amirates, or small Islamic States.

Both movements have created States, the Wahhabi in Arabia and the Sanusi in Cyrenaica, based explicitly on religious particularism. In doing so they have only done what any movement of the kind is bound to do in a barbarous country if it is to continue to exist, namely, to create an administrative system which would ensure a measure of peace, security, justice, and economic stability. A religious organization cannot exist apart from a polity of a wider kind. But they did not create the sentiment of community which made the growth of governmental functions and the emergence of a State possible.

Religious divisions in Islam have commonly been the expression of a sense of social and cultural exclusiveness. The support given to the 'Alids in Persia and Arabia, to the Umayyads in Africa and Spain, to the Fatimids in Egypt, to the Kharijites by the Berbers in North Africa, and the adoption of extreme Shi'ite doctrines by the mountaineers of Syria and by the Kurds, and of Isma'ili teachings in parts of India, were all reactions against foreign domination as much as revolts against orthodoxy. The religious deviation was the expression of the intense desire

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of a people to live according to their own traditions and institutions. To-day this desire is expressed in the political language of nationalism. In the past it was expressed in religious movements. Arab nationalism is not a new phenomenon. Only its dress is new.

As will be seen in the chapters which follow, conditions in Cyrenaica were particularly favourable to the growth of a politico-religious movement such as the Sanusiya became. It was cut off by deserts from neighbouring countries, it had a homogeneous population, it had a tribal system which embraced common traditions and a strong feeling of community of blood, the country was not dominated by the towns, and the Turkish administration exercised very little control over the interior. It was, as will be seen, the tribal system of the Bedouin which furnished the Order with its political foundations just as it was the tribesmen of the country whose hardiness and courage enabled it to stand up to the succession of defeats it had to endure.

The reasons for the political success of the Sanusiya Order in Cyrenaica will appear in the course of this account, and here I wish to draw attention to one of them only. It has been said that its rites and teachings were, like the Bedouin character, austere without being fanatical, and that it tolerated the cult of saints to which the Bedouin were accustomed, the Grand Sanusi becoming, in fact, a kind of national saint; but it must be added that the acceptability of its teachings and the fact that the Grand Sanusi could at once be placed by the Bedouin in the familiar category of *Marabtin*, holy men coming to preach and settle in Cyrenaica from the west, cannot alone account for the remarkable success of the Sanusiya movement. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica had heard similar teachings before from similar teachers and had paid them the same degree of attention as they paid to the Grand Sanusi, but these earlier missionaries won only a personal and local following for themselves and their descendants, whereas the Grand Sanusi established himself and his family as leaders of a national movement, a position they have now held for three generations.

Leaving aside the remarkable personality of the Grand Sanusi and without here discussing whether the time at which he taught was particularly favourable to the growth of the move-

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ment to which his teachings led, it may be said that the great difference between the Grand Sanusi and the earlier holy men whose tombs are homely landmarks all over Cyrenaica was that, while they were, all of them, in the eyes of the Bedouin, Marabouts, the Grand Sanusi was also the head of an Order which gave to him and his successors an organization. Moreover, unlike the Heads of most Islamic Orders, which have rapidly disintegrated into autonomous segments without contact and common direction, they have been able to maintain this organization intact and keep control of it. This they were able to do by co-ordinating the lodges of the Order to the tribal structure.

III

The more recent Islamic Orders are to be found principally in North and West Africa. The Sanusiya is one of the most recent of them. Its founder was an Algerian scholar, al-Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Sanusi al-Khattabi al-Idrisi al-Hasani, a very remarkable man, mystic, missionary, and Marabout. The Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Sanusi is usually spoken of in Cyrenaica as *al-Sanusi al-Kabir*, the Grand Sanusi, and I generally refer to him thus in this book.

The Grand Sanusi was born of a distinguished family of Sharifs at a village near Mustaghanim in Algeria about 1787. Early in life he became noted for his intelligence, piety, and profound learning, considered fitting ornaments to his noble birth. He studied first at Mustaghanim, then at Mazun, and later at the famous mosque school at Fez in Morocco, where he learnt theology, jurisprudence, exegesis of the Koran, and the other usual subjects of a Muslim student of the time. There he seems to have developed an interest in mysticism, having come under the influence of the Moroccan Order of the Tijaniya Darwishes. He left Fez when in the early thirties in order to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, though a Turkish biographer says that one of his reasons for leaving Morocco was to avoid possible unpleasantness with the authorities, who were alarmed lest his propaganda for the greater unity of Islam, his life's aim, might have political consequences.[1] They had small cause for alarm as his efforts seem to have made little impression on the

[1] Salim bin 'Amir, *Majallat 'Umar al-Mukhtar*, No. II, 1943–4, p. 2.

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of Cyrenaica.[1] The Bedouin remember with gratitude, as I have often heard them declare, the moral and cultural benefits brought to them by the Order. If they have fallen from the low religious and literary standards to which the Sanusiya raised a fraction of them it is due to the virtual extinction of its teaching office during their long struggle with the Italians.

II

The Bedouin the Grand Sanusi found in Cyrenaica were not only Muslims but also inveterate devotees of saints, the *Marabtin* (sing. *Marabat*) or Marabouts, as they are called in European accounts of North Africa, and the Grand Sanusi was in the long tradition of these holy men. Therefore, although I have touched on the matter in Chapter I, I need not excuse myself for treating it again in its Cyrenaican context, for Bedouin attachment to the Sanusiya springs from their personal devotion to the Grand Sanusi and his family, and not the other way round, and the Grand Sanusi derived his sanctity, and thereby his power, from the fact that he was a Marabout. The Bedouin are familiar with saints and ignorant of Orders. To them the Grand Sanusi was a saint and wonderworker, and a man with *baraka*, an ample measure of God's grace which flowed through him to ordinary folk; but there was nothing extraordinary about him. They knew his kind of old. When he died his tomb became a shrine, the largest and richest in Cyrenaica it is true, but only one among very many, dating from the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, through the Martyrs who were killed fighting for the faith in Cyrenaica, to the pious and learned men of yesterday and the day before. His successors, by their kinship with him, and in virtue of their spiritual legacy from him, became heirs to his *baraka*; and so, to a lesser degree, have the heirs of the other religious teachers who came to Cyrenaica from the west, who died and were buried there, and whose descendants are the *Marabtin bil baraka* lineages of to-day. The authority the Grand Sanusi had over the Bedouin of Arabia and North Africa can be parallelled by the careers of many holy

[1] Giuseppe Macaluso, *Turchi, Senussi e Italiani in Libia*, 1930, p. 32; Giglio, op. cit., p. 22; and Arcangelo Ghisleri (quoting Andrea Pedretti), *Tripolitania e Cirenaica dal Mediterraneo al Sahara*, 1912, p. 132.

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men in North Africa whose families still retain much wealth and influence. It was this Marabout status of the Grand Sanusi in the eyes of the Bedouin which won him their respect: it was the organization of the Sanusiya Order, an organization the earlier Marabouts did not have, which enabled him to turn this respect into a theocracy.

There is more than one explanation of the origin of the word '*Marabat*'. That generally accepted is that it derives from the root RBT, to bind, and hence from '*ribat*', a fortified convent, inhabited by warrior-monks, found on the marches of Islam in its early days of expansion by arms. The word later became attached to the tribes which settled in Andalousia under the leadership of the Saharan tribe of the Sanhaja and was corrupted into the European 'Almoravides'. After the fall of the Sanhaja dynasty in the twelfth century part of the *Marabtin* tribes fell back into central and southern Morocco, whence many individuals moved eastwards. Some settled in Cyrenaica, generally on their return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and their fanaticism, asceticism, ability to read and write, and thaumaturgic powers, impressed the simple Bedouin, who accepted them as holy men and magicians and used them to write charms, to perform religious rites, and to act as mediators in inter-tribal disputes. Sometimes, as we have seen, these men founded lineages which, dwelling under the shadow of their saintly forbears, became nuclei of social agglomerations which have developed in course of time into tribal groups, thus taking the shape of the tribal society in which they lived. The word '*Marabtin*' thus came to mean holy men (and their tombs) and then, in addition, tribes tracing their descent, or supposed descent, from these holy men and also, finally, in Cyrenaica, tribes who are clients of the great *Sa'adi* tribes which own the earth and water.

Some of the better known of the Cyrenaican saints, but by no means all, have gleaming white cupolas, supported by four walls, erected over their tombs, and inside the walls is a *tub*, a wooden box, over the grave, and this is covered with coloured cloth on which are inscribed passages from the Koran. Inside also are often a few pages from sacred books, occasionally a few small coins given by the local Bedouin, and any property, such as tents or ploughs, the Bedouin have wished to deposit in a

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safe place when on seasonal moves. Often a shrine, sometimes the shrine of a very famous saint, is no more than a wall of stones, with perhaps a stick, with pieces of cloth tied to it, erected over the grave, and this is the usual form in the steppe grazing-grounds. There are generally cemeteries around the tombs.

All these shrines are visited by the Bedouin from time to time, when they are passing by or when they have some request to make of the holy man. Many of them are cult centres, an annual ceremony, one of the chief events of the Bedouin year, being held at them; and when they are near the border between tribes, or between tribal sections, this is an occasion for intertribal, or intersectional, gatherings. There is no saint whose tomb is much visited by the Bedouin who has not performed miracles, some of them very remarkable miracles, and there is probably none who has not at some time or other cured the sick or given an heir.

The tombs of these holy men, Sidi this, Sidi that, and Sidi the other, are found in profusion over the whole of inhabited Cyrenaica. The historically best known are those of Sidi Rafa', one of the Companions of the Prophet, near al-Zawiya al-Baida on the plateau, of Sidi 'Abdalla, one of the Prophet's standard-bearers, in the oasis of Aujila, and of the founder of the Sanusiya Order, Sidi Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Sanusi, at Jaghbub oasis. The shrines belong to the tribes and tribal sections in whose earth the Marabouts are buried and the Marabouts are looked upon as tribal and sub-tribal patrons. Like the Sanusiya Order, they have become part of tribal life.

I have earlier reproduced Col. De Agostini's map of the Hasa tribe to serve as an example of the territorial distribution of lineages. The same map serves to illustrate the distribution of shrines in a tribal territory. It can be seen from this map, which shows only the best-known Marabout tombs, that all the different sections of the tribe have their shrines, and I would draw attention to an interesting feature of the distribution which I have also noted in other tribal areas: how often these sacred spots are near a tribal boundary, or near the boundary between one tribal section and another. This may not be pure chance, for the Marabouts in their lifetimes were regarded as standing outside the tribal system, to which indeed, being foreigners from the west, they did not belong, and their chief political role was

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to act as mediators between tribes and between one tribal section and another. Even to-day their tombs are regarded as neutral points, as it were, and are often the place chosen for a meeting between the Shaikhs of one tribe, or tribal section, and those of an adjacent tribe, or section, when some matter has to be settled between them. It has sometimes happened also that when two tribes have disputed the ownership of territory, they have settled the dispute by allotting it to a Marabout, which means to his descendants, so that one then finds a *Marabtin* strip between two *Sa'adi* tribes or tribal sections. One of the best examples of this is the strip of country owned by the Aulad al-Shaikh tribe between the 'Awaqir and the 'Abid and 'Arafa tribal domains. In the same way tribes made gifts of disputed wells to dead saints. Where a *Marabtin* tribe has grown out of a Marabout family they will be found living in the area around their tombs. Thus the Aulad al-Shaikh territory spreads out from Sidi Mahiyus, part of the Masamir live near Sidi Nuh, the Mshaitat live around Sidi al-Mshaiti, and the Qat'an live near Sidi Hashim and Sidi Suliman al-Tair.

So, long centuries before the Grand Sanusi began his mission in Cyrenaica, the Bedouin were used to the sight of an *'alim*, a learned man—for anyone who can read and write is a learned man to the Bedouin—coming from the west to heal their children and beasts, break droughts, write talismans, and teach them the beliefs and law of Islam. Such a man was also a *muhakkam*, one who arbitrated in their disputes and said the *fatiha* at their settlements and undertakings to make them binding. He could arbitrate among them because he was not of them. He was not like them a tented son of the steppe, though his descendants may have learned to live as such, but a *Marabat*, a man who follows religion and not the rains. The Bedouin of Cyrenaica owe much to these holy men, for, ignorant and superstitious though they may have been, they taught the tribesmen to respect learning and religion and kept those twin lights burning, even if dimly, through centuries. The Bedouin do not forget them, or to say a prayer for them, when they pass their tombs; and they have given the freedom of their earth and water to their descendants. Without these forerunners the Grand Sanusi could not have planted his Order in the country. It is planted in their bones.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

Marabouts of the kind I have described were still coming to Cyrenaica from the west up to the time when the Grand Sanusi began his preaching in the country. Two of them whom he found there, already living among the Bedouin, the one on the western and the other on the eastern part of the plateau, teaching them and settling their disputes, became his followers: Sidi Ahmad bin 'Abdalla al-Sakkuri, a late arrival from the west whose descendants became Shaikhs of the zawiya of al-Marj, and Sidi al-Martadi Farkash, of an old *Marabtin* family of Cyrenaica, whose descendants became Shaikhs of the lodges at Umm al-Razam, Bishara, and Martuba. But the great majority of the Grand Sanusi's helpers were men who had come with him from the west, chiefly from Algeria. Other *Ikhwan* families, mostly of the Khattabi lineage, of which the Sanusi family are a branch, came later, also from Algeria, in the time of Sayyid al-Mahdi. To the Bedouin they were all Marabouts and when they had in their lifetimes a reputation for piety or learning their tombs in the Sanusiya lodges in which they resided became places of cult like those of their forerunners all over Cyrenaica. But unlike the earlier Marabouts these Sanusiya Brothers were not only holy men. They were also members of a fraternity, of an organization. The Sanusiya Order was thus not only heir to the accumulated capital of the Marabouts, but was able to exploit it as a corporation. It incorporated a number of isolated cults into a single wider cult, fractionized, it is true, by tribal particularisms, but, all the same, brought under a common organization. Each lodge of the Order was a cult centre, but it was something more: it was part of a general cult directed through the lodges towards the Head of the Order. The tribes of Cyrenaica became through the Order linked from above in a common, if loose, organization under a single, sacred, Head. This was possible only because a tribal system already existed uniting the different tribes, in spite of their feuds and enmities, into a society which, though lacking political unity, rested on common sentiments, a common way of life, and a common lineage structure.

What gave stability to this new relationship between the Bedouin tribes and the Sanusiya Order, turning the sacred Head into a secular leader and the religious organization into a government, and changed a loose federation of tribes into a

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

is not to be built till the zawiya is completed. There will be builders and carpenters among the Brothers and all that is required of the tribal Shaikhs is selection of the site and supervision of the work. He points out to them that the work is for their benefit, in that they and their sons will receive in the zawiya an education, especially in the Koran and in the laws of Islam, and will be able to worship there. The Grand Sanusi then cites passages from the Koran and the *Hadith* commending religious benefactions. Finally he prays God to assist those engaged in the building and those who have made themselves responsible for the upkeep of the zawiya. God helps those who help others. A man reaps what he sows.

Some of the Cyrenaican lodges were larger than others but they all had the same features, a straggling warren of stone buildings comprising a mosque, schoolrooms, guest-rooms, apartments for the Shaikh of the zawiya and his family, rooms for teachers and pupils, and houses for the Brothers, clients, and servants, and their families. Many had small gardens nearby and the local cemetery was usually adjacent to a lodge. Jaghbub, where several hundred persons lived, was the largest of such communities. The ruins of Dariyana and al-'Azziyyat are also extensive and must have housed several hundred persons, but the average lodge probably housed only some fifty to a hundred persons, including wives and children, though there were often *Marabtin* families attached to the zawiya living nearby, sometimes in caves dating from classical times. The importance of a lodge was not to be estimated so much by the number of its occupants as by its tribal position and the number of its Bedouin adherents.

The Shaikh of a new zawiya would point out to the local tribesmen that he and his companions had no means of supporting themselves or of maintaining the zawiya. The various sections nearby then gave to the lodge the lands adjoining it, this estate surrounding a lodge being known as its *haram*. On the plateau the lodges were generously endowed with arable, in the steppe with wells, and in the oases with date-palms and springs. Later, further gifts of arable, wells, springs, and date-palms, or part use of these, would sometimes be made, especially when there was a dispute between two sections about ownership of property and neither would give way to the other,

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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find hereditary transmission of Shaikhship of lodges most accentuated, such as the Bara'asa-Tamia section (al-Zawiya al-Baida), the 'Awaqir-Sdaidi section (Msus zawiya), and the 'Abaidat-Ghaith section (Tart zawiya). In the same way the earlier Marabouts became, as has been noted, founders of lineages which were on the pattern of the branches of the Bedouin clans among whom they lived, and attached to them.

Also it must be remembered that the lodges were tribal institutions built by the local Bedouin so that they might participate in the *baraka* of Sayyid Muhammad bin 'Ali al-Sanusi. They participated in it through the Shaikhs of their zawiyas who received their *baraka* direct from the hands of the Grand Sanusi himself, or from the hands of son Sayyid al-Mahdi, and passed it on to their sons: This *baraka* belonged to the tribe, or tribal section, which built a lodge just as the *shaukha*, the secular Shaikhship of the tribe, or tribal section, belonged to it and had to be kept in it. In both the continuity of family succession had to be maintained, unless there were good reasons for acting otherwise. Thus each tribal section emphasized its autonomy in its hereditary line of religious Shaikhs, through whom the *baraka* of the founder of the Order was transmitted to them, whilst proclaiming its membership of a tribal federation with common allegiance to the Head of the Order.

As I have pointed out when speaking of the sacred *Marabtin* tribes of Cyrenaica, it was customary for the descendants of a Marabout to reside near his tomb. I have further mentioned that the Shaikh of a Sanusiya lodge, who is also called a *Marabat* by the Bedouin, might, if he had during life a reputation for piety, rather easily gained in Islam, be venerated as a saint when he was dead and his tomb become a shrine. This is another reason why Shaikhly families have tended to become hereditary directors of lodges.

Just as almost all the Marabouts of Cyrenaica were foreigners from the west, so were almost all the Shaikhs of the Sanusiya lodges. The Dardafi and Isma'ili families came from Tripolitania, the Ghumari family from Morocco, the 'Ammur, Bu Jibali, and Khattab families came from Algeria, and so on. As a class they enjoyed, and still enjoy, a reputation for sanctity among the Bedouin on account of their knowledge of the Koran

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

bers of an undivided group. It is erroneous to suppose that because the different orders of sections are homologous in their structural aspects they do not differ; they do, because the interests associated with the various orders are different.[1]

Collateral tertiary segments are associated with different tracts of territory. Each has its own watering rights as a group, and although groups may share a grain store, it is divided on group lines. Members of these different groups do not gather together in summer to form a single community, though at some of the very big watering points they are near each other. Social relationships between them are, however, intense. Visits are frequent. They meet to exchange news, or to inquire after the sick. They exchange greetings during the major festivals, and members of one group attend the funerals and weddings of the others, taking gifts. They also meet at the grain stores. Herdsmen, as they pursue straying animals, wander freely in their neighbours' territory. Relationships of this sort, some of them urgently necessary for survival, do not permit the feuding relationships to be described presently. Permanent hostility which characterizes the feud would seriously disrupt everyday economic activities, limit the pastoral movements of the Bedouin beyond endurance, and sever lines of communication which they always strive to keep open.

A homicide, when it involves two collateral tertiary groups must, therefore, be resolved quickly. This can be effected in two ways. Vengeance may be exacted immediately. This is always referred to as a vengeance killing or *thār*, and is to be distinguished from a superficially similar act within a tertiary group, since *thār* carries with it the implication that it is premeditated. A *thār* between two tertiary sections is considered to be the best way of settling the affair and, after an appropriate lapse of time, a peace meeting is held at which it is accepted that the killings have cancelled each other out. The deliberations at this meeting are followed by a meal at which all present 'eat around the one bowl'; the meal over, they all pray together. A life had been taken for a life and the way is now open for the restoration of normal peaceful relationships. Vengeance needs to be distinguished from feud, for while retaliatory killings provide the propulsive force in the feud a vengeance killing may be the means whereby a settlement of hostilities is made possible.

An end to hostilities may also be brought about by a promise to pay blood money or *diya*, and its acceptance by the victim's group. Arrangements for blood-money discussions are made by a category of persons known as *marabtin bi'l baraka*, or 'clients of the goodness', men who, by virtue of descent and origin, stand outside the descent lines of the noble tribes, and who are accredited with divine goodness. They tend the sick, write amulets, and are always present at a peace meeting to give it the weight of their baraka. Soon after the homicide has occurred they act as intermediaries to bring the hostile groups together at a peace meeting.[2] Ostensibly, the first part of the proceedings at these meetings is to settle the amount of the blood money, and how and when it is to be paid. Agreement on these counts will have been reached, however, before the large peace gathering is assembled, for there is a gener-

[1] This statement requires more documentation than I am able to give to it in this paper, but the descriptive details given hereafter give it some substance. See also Smith, 1956.

[2] It is necessary to add here that these clients do not assume coercive powers. They are granted the power to curse, but the curse that is feared is the curse of their dead when an oath is given at a saint's tomb. When they know that groups wish to make peace they assist as messengers in bringing people together, but they do not use their power to curse as a pressure.

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

first successes in Senegal, the Beni Hilal and the Beni Suleim were being despatched by the Caliph Mustansir billah against Mu'izz ibn Badis, his rebellious viceroy in Tripoli. They sang of their conquest :

> " Great was the king, son of Badis, a mighty man of war !
> Yet we routed his thirty thousand men !
> We were but three thousand, yet the victory was ours, and ours the spoil !
> Their hearts were as water, not a man was in their ranks !
> We routed them and they fled far and wide ! "

These Beni Hilal, now extinct, are famous wherever Arabic is spoken for the exploits of their legendary hero Abu Zeid, while the Beni Suleim had helped the Prophet at the battle of Hunein, and are said by Hogarth to be the ancestors of the great modern tribe of Harb.[1]

The confusion of these two invasions caused the races of North Africa to become inextricably mixed. Both Arabs and Berbers spent their lives in the desert herding their flocks, and both were warlike. So it is natural that the intermarriages of a few generations should have made one people of them, and it is also natural that the conquered should claim relationship with the conquerors and not vice versa. But this aspiration of the Berbers has flooded their genealogies with so many lies that it is difficult to disentangle the truth.

The descendants of the original colonists, much mixed with Berber blood, still preserve their title of Murabitin, though no longer living in *ribat*, which soon lost their military character and were turned into *Zawia* " monasteries ", where the more peacefully inclined of the sect retired for religious teaching and contemplation. Later, when the *ribat* came to be deserted, the peaceful Murabitin, ill-fitted by their monastic habits for the resumption of an active nomadic life, sank into dependence on their warlike brethren the Sa'adi, and, among a primitive race, dependence means inferiority. Thus in Arabia any tribe that pays tribute to another is despised as Hiteim. And so the once proud title of " Murabitin " has simply come to mean " vassal " and nothing more.

[1] *History of Arabia*, 38.

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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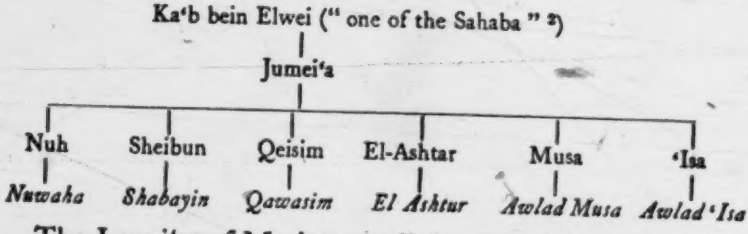
to Dib by Ibn Khaldun, who calls Dib a descendant of Ka'b, the great-grandson of Suleim.[1] If this be true, the Jumei'at must be an elder branch than any of the Sa'adi tribes, among whom the Awlad 'Ali are included. But in actual fact, the Awlad 'Ali do not consider the Jumei'at as of Sa'adi origin, that is, descendants of Abu Dib and his wife Sa'ada, but despise them as Murabitin or vassals, though they pay no tribute.

All this may be interpreted to mean that they are among the oldest inhabitants of Western Egypt. They have been in Egypt "seven hundred years" according to one of their sheikhs, Sa'ad Bey el-Masri, and a pedigree given me by another, Sheikh 'Ilwani Suleiman, who lives near Sidi 'Abd el-Rahman, runs :



The Jumei'at of Mariut are all descended from El-Ashtar, while the offspring of the other five sons are settled in Beheira, Gharbiya, and at Ramla near Alexandria.

It is, of course, possible that their eponymous ancestor, Jumei'a, was an Arab of Beni Suleim descent, who returned to Egypt from the "Green Mountain", soon after the Beni Suleim invasion, and whose descendants became Murabitin by forming themselves into a religious community. But such religious fervour is not a Bedouin characteristic, but smacks rather of the fanaticism of the recently-converted, so I suspect the Jumei'at, in spite of their descent from Ka'b, to be mainly a remnant of the earlier Libyan population of the coast.

Prior to the arrival of the Awlad 'Ali, they were "Mrabit" to the Beni 'Una, and engaged in constant conflict with the Hanadi. Upon the rout and annihilation of the Beni 'Una, the Jumei'at were stirred up to revolt against the Hanadi by one of their holy men called Baqush. Outraged by their

[1] The more ignorant Awlad Suleiman have forgotten Ka'b's paternity, and confused him with the famous Arab poet Ka'b ibn Zuheir. See p. 287 for their version. And yet another Jumei'i version gives as their ancestor the Saint Ka'b el Ahbar.

[2] The "Friends" of the Prophet.

9: Murray E.K-3,4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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619 175 726 792 oppression, he gathered his people and delivered a fiery denunciation of his religion, during which he smashed his rosary into pieces and mixed it with his horse's fodder; Baqush then invited their kinsmen (?) the Awlad 'Ali, to come over from the "Green Mountain" and help them. To entice the Awlad 'Ali, he is said to have sent them samples of salt desert water and Nile water sweetened with sugar to illustrate the difference between the hardships of the desert and the comforts of the Rif.[1]

619 175 726 [131] As recounted earlier, the Awlad 'Ali completely routed the Hanadi and their allies, and drove them from the desert. In the division of the conquered territory, the Jumei'at received a third, and, although they were still considered Murabitin, were released from the payment of tribute. They now live intermingled with the free sections of the Awlad 'Ali, all along the north coast of Egypt, and are numerous in Beheira, especially near Abu Hummus.

619 [131] *Samalus.*—The Samalus are found scattered among the Awlad 'Ali on the northern coast and stranded among many of the Egyptian provinces. They once possessed a head sheikh Abu Sala at Minya, and colonies are recorded from Faiyum, Beheira, Menufiya, Gharbiya, and Sharqiya. An [175] [162] [231] [312] old paper from the Recruiting Department gives from seventeen villages in the Faiyum 775 mounted Samalus and 1,400 on foot, possessing 1,760 camels and 11,400 sheep. Two important groups of wells, both called "Sawani es-Samalus" exist on the north coast, one about 50 kilometres east of Salum, and the other 20 kilometres south of Dhab'a.

[173] They say they came to Egypt, 400 strong, about 200 years ago, from the Wadi Samalus in the Jebel Akhdar, and their ancestor twelve generations ago was Nasr el-Hasani, of course an "Arab from Beni Suleim".

[175] [726] In the *Description de l'Egypte*, P. D. Martin relates how in 1800 the Samalus of Faiyum were raided by a party of Ferjan, 200 strong, from Beheira.

619 186 *Shiheibat.*—These are a "Mrabit" tribe from the west with an unenviable reputation, living near the Wadi Natrun. Sayed Idris, the former Senussi leader, says of them: "Most

[1] Dumreicher, 16. This is probably the "Sheik Abdall Gawyal Bagooshi" who wrote to Sir Sydney Smith in March, 1801, warning him of the approach of the French from Damanhur. Wilson, *History of the British Expedition in Egypt*, 371. (Rif = cultivated area.)